DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 158 696 HE 010 447

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TITLE Black Students Entering CRC-Member Colleges: Their Characteristics and their First-Year Academic Performance. CRC Memorandum.
INSTITUTION College Research Center, Princeton, N.J.
PUB DATE 15 Apr 69
NOTE 26p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; *Black Students; College Entrance Examinations; *College Freshmen; College Integration; Comparative Analysis; Educational Background; Family Background; Grade Point Average; Grade Prediction; Higher Education; *Predictor Variables; Socioeconomic Background; Student Ability; Student Attitudes; *Student Characteristics; Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS College Entrance Exam Board Achievement Test; Scholastic Aptitude Test

ABSTRACT

In order to facilitate efforts to evaluate the progress of black students currently enrolled in several selective colleges and/or to develop rationales for extending educational opportunity to racial minorities, a study was undertaken to focus on (1) selected characteristics of black female students entering several selective liberal arts colleges, traditionally for women only, in 1965, 1966, and 1967; and (2) questions related to their performance during the freshman year, and the validity of measures of academic aptitude and achievement, and secondary school standing for forecasting first-year academic performance. Data sources for the study include a comprehensive survey questionnaire, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, College Entrance Examination Board Achievement Test scores, secondary school background, educational and career orientations, and attitudes, dispositions, and values. One conclusion of the study states that given the traditional academic demands and emphases of selective colleges, scores on traditional entrance examinations are likely to be as valid for black students as they are for their white classmates. Performance of black students and all public school graduates on standard admissions variables are presented in the appendix. (JMD)

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ED158696

COLLEGE RESEARCH CENTER
For Interinstitutional Cooperation in Institutional Research

In affiliation with
EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE
Princeton, N. J.

BLACK STUDENTS ENTERING CRC-MEMBER COLLEGES: THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AND THEIR FIRST-YEAR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

CRC Memorandum

April 15, 1969

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Kenneth M. Wilson

HE 010 447

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Note: This memorandum was issued originally as CRC Research Memorandum 69-1 while the Center was located at Vassar College.

Context and Perspective

Selective colleges are painfully aware that there is only a shallow pool of college candidates "...which one might define as bright enough to do good work at selective-admission colleges and prosperous enough to pay their tuition and other costs." (Doermann, 1968, pp. 49-50).* As many of them in recent years have sought to increase their enrollment of black students they have become increasingly aware that the pool of "eligible" candidates among black high school seniors is even shallower, when normal institutional definitions of "eligibility" are applied. Ignoring "ability to pay" considerations, the number of black high school seniors qualified to undertake college-level work, according to the criteria normally used by selective colleges, is extremely small.

It has been estimated (Kendrick, 1968), for example, that

> ...not more than 15 percent and perhaps as few as 10 percent of Negro high school seniors would score 400 or more on the verbal section of the SAT /Scholastic Aptitude Test of CEEB/. Only 1 or 2 percent would be likely to score 500 or more...

In sharp contrast, data compiled by the College Research Center (Wilson, 1967a) on all students[1] entering 12 selective, liberal arts colleges (traditionally for women only) in 1966 indicate that

> only 18 of 4,007 entering students, or approximately 4 in every 1,000 (0.4%), had SAT-V scores below 400; only about 4 percent had SAT-V scores below 500.

Thus, based on measured academic ability, very few Negro high-school graduates are likely to have credentials suggesting that they possess the academic qualifications normally required for admission to these and other more or less selective institutions.

And while the record is far from complete, there is evidence that SAT-type test scores reflect the functional ability of Negro students to perform typical college tasks to about the same extent that they reflect the functional ability of white students to do so. Stanley and Porter (1967), for example, reviewed several studies of the predictive value (correlation with college grades) of SAT-V

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*See list of references for full bibliographic citations.

[1]An unknown but relatively small number of Negro students was represented among the students entering the 12 colleges in 1966.

and SAT-M scores in predominantly Negro and predominantly white institutions and concluded:

> ...it seems likely that SAT-type test scores are about as correlationally valid for Negroes competing with Negroes and taught chiefly by Negroes as they are for non-Negroes competing chiefly with non-Negroes and taught chiefly by non-Negroes.

They also indicate that "...prediction may be approximately equal for the races within integrated colleges...(ibid.)," citing a study by Cleary (1966) in three integrated colleges. At two of these colleges grades for Negroes and non-Negroes predicted about equally well while at the third the grades of Negro students were lower than they had been predicted to be.

Clearly, considerations related to academic-ability differentials between Negro and white twelfth graders[2] combined with differences in their economic circumstances, motivation, etc., must be faced squarely by selective colleges seeking to recruit and provide appropriate educational opportunities for Negro students.

With a degree of clarity and cogency not characteristic of most discussions of the problem, S. A. Kendrick (1968) of the College Entrance Examination Board has pointed out that the normal operating procedures, admissions requirements, curricular emphases, academic requirements and expectations, high cost, and social climates of selective institutions quite effectively cut them off from direct involvement with, and educational service to, college-aspiring members of the 'underclass,' whether black or white, and that this state of affairs will continue unless the institutions themselves become something other than what they are--in essence, that selective colleges will remain severely segregated racially, de facto, if normal standards and emphases are maintained, notwithstanding their genuine desire to be of service in extending educational opportunity to members of disadvantaged groups.[3]

In such circumstances selective colleges may decide to recruit and admit black high-school seniors whose qualifications are similar (as similar as possible)

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[2]That such differences exist at present is clear. And it is a reasonable conclusion that Negro-white differences in measured academic ability at the twelfth grade level reflect real differences in ability to perform tasks typically required of students in selective colleges. The effects of sustained deprivation on educational development are all the more bitter because they are resistant to reversal. (See Kendrick 1968)

[3]It should be recognized that selective colleges, by virtue of their academic

to those of the regular entering group, predicated on the assumption that the college can serve best by maintaining characteristic educational patterns designed for academically selected students. Other may opt for "high-risk" programs,[4] involving a policy decision to

> admit otherwise desirable students of comparatively low verbal ability and...design instruction to suit their needs, ability, and backgrounds.../in full recognition of the likelihood/ that students who are well below the existing student body will not thrive...in direct unaided competition with that student body. (Kendrick, 1968, p. 13)

Research and evaluation needed

Whatever course of action they may finally decide upon, however, most are under considerable pressure to increase their enrollments of black students.[5] As colleges grapple with the educational and social (as well as fiscal) problems involved in extending educational opportunities to members of racial minorities and the poor it is important that what is being done with and for such students be evaluated carefully in order to shed light on the effectiveness (or lack of effectiveness) of particular programs and educational arrangements and the circumstances which appear to be most conducive to their success.

In order to evaluate their efforts, colleges need information about the

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emphases and institutional goals, have become increasingly "segregated" along academic-ability and socioeconomic lines. This, as Kendrick points out, has had the effect of de facto racial segregation. Selective colleges find it difficult to be of service in the education of disadvantaged black youths--as they would find it difficult to be of service to academically, economically, and socially comparable white youth--because such colleges are not organized to cope with the problems of educating academically unselected students.

[4]A recent survey (Egerton, 1968) of 215 colleges and universities deemed especially likely to be involved in high risk programs, found that among the 162 respondents approximately half (53.1 percent) reported some measure of involvement "in what could be considered high risk activity, while the other(s) reported no involvement at all. Among the colleges responding affirmatively, (Egerton reported), it is difficult in some cases to ascertain how big a risk they are taking and what they are doing to make it pay off." (p. 8)

[5]Kendrick (1968) comments on one of the probable, undesirable consequences of this pressure: "The thing to be feared, which has already begun, is an all out recruiting war among 500 to 1,000 colleges for a very few Negro youths of moderate-to-high ability. Such a war cannot be won by more than a few institutions, and such victories cannot be good for anyone." The same principle holds for pressures on colleges to add black faculty. Among other things, predominantly Negro colleges--which will continue for some time to provide higher educational opportunity

abilities, backgrounds, attitudes, expectations, and aspirations of black students and how they compare with their classmates in these respects. Careful records should be maintained on their "survival rates," their academic progress, and their adjustment to the total life of the college. Continuing attention should be given to questions regarding the predictive value of standard admissions variables (e.g., SAT-type tests, high school records) for disadvantaged students. And, of course, results of inquiry along these (and related lines) should be shared.

The study reported herein was undertaken by College Research Center in order to facilitate the efforts of one group of selective, liberal arts colleges to evaluate the progress of black students currently enrolled and/or to develop rationales for extending educational opportunity to members of racial minorities and the poor. The study focusses on (a) selected characteristics of black students (girls) entering several selective liberal arts colleges, traditionally for women only, in 1965, 1966, and 1967, and (b) questions related to their performance during the freshman year and the validity of measures of academic aptitude and achievement, and secondary school standing for forecasting first-year academic performance of black students.

Black Students in CRC-Member Colleges

In recent years member colleges of College Research Center have intensified their efforts to extend educational opportunity to black students. The total number of such students enrolled has been (and remains) relatively small. During the period 1965 through 1967, 168 black students entered a CRC-member College. As may be seen in Table 1, most of these students were accounted for by four colleges each of which attracted from 22 to 52 black students during the period under consideration. The present study deals primarily with black students in these four colleges, namely, College A, College B, College G, and College J.

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for a large number of Negro youth--are likely to be severely victimized by the efforts of selective colleges to enroll Negro students and hire Negro faculty. Vincent Brown, dean of liberal arts at Howard University, is quoted as follows: "More and more /predominantly white institutions/ are drawing on the available pool of talent, and more and more it is becoming difficult for us to enroll the promising high school seniors." (Poughkeepsie Journal, March 1969).

Table 1

Number of Black Students Entering CRC Colleges
In 1965, 1966, and 1967

College	Year entered 1965 No.	1966 No.	1967 No.	Period total No.	Included in survey of characteristics* No.
A	14	24	14	(52)	(50)
B	9	12	6	(27)	(25)
G	3	8	11	(22)	(21)
J	17	23	9	(49)	(46)
C	1	1	5	(7)	(5)
D		1	3	(4)	(4)
H	2	1	4	(7)	**
All Colleges	46	70	52	(168)	(151)

Note: Colleges are identified by CRC letter-identification codes, adopted in May 1965.

*Completed College Student Questionnaires, Part 1 (ETS) during orientation period.

**Data received too late for inclusion in analysis.

At one of the four colleges, College J, black students were enrolled in an experimental, risk program for "inner city students" (a program embodying the concept of inner-city residents living at home while participating fully as day students in the educational and social programs of a nearby, selective college). At the other three colleges (Colleges A, B, and G) black students were enrolled, in the main, as regular, resident students though with provision for special assistance, as needed.

Source of data

During orientation period each fall, students entering a CRC-member college complete a comprehensive survey questionnaire.[6] The questionnaire contains 200

[6] College Student Questionnaires, Part 1, Form 200D, available through the Institutional Research Program for Higher Education, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N. J. See Wilson (1966a and 1969) for a discussion of the rationale underlying the regular use of survey data with entering students by CRC colleges.

items sampling a variety of educationally-relevant areas: e.g., educational-vocational preferences, educational plans and orientations, family background, secondary school background, career outlook, and attitudes toward social and economic questions.

As indicated in Table 1, a total of 151 black students completed CSQ Part 1 as part of the regular orientation program of the colleges involved. Their responses to this survey constitute the primary source of data reflecting background characteristics, plans, and expectations.

Measures of academic aptitude (SAT-Verbal and SAT-Mathematical), achievement (CEEB Achievement Tests), and secondary school standing (Standard-score conversion of rank-in-class as reported by the secondary school) are obtained regularly for essentially all applicants for admission to CRC-member colleges and were available for most of the black students (as well as others), in the CRC data-pool.

Freshman-year grade-point averages, provided by CRC-colleges as part of a regular program for pooling follow-up data on student progress, were available for 143 of 150 black students who entered one of the four study-colleges.

Background Characteristics, Educational Orientations, and Career Outlooks of Black Students

The analysis which follows focusses primarily on survey findings bearing on family background and economic circumstances, secondary-school background, educational orientations and plans, and career preferences. Responses of black students only (entering in 1965, 1966, and 1967) are analyzed in relation to those of all students, <u>including black students</u>, entering the four colleges and all CRC-member colleges, respectively, <u>in 1967 only</u>. Comparison data are provided for a more general sample of college students.

Family background

In respect to a variety of socioeconomic indicators, students entering CRC colleges are substantially more selected than college freshmen generally--as previously noted, selective colleges have become "segregated" socioeconomically as well as academically. Comparative data in Table 2 provide some indication of the extent of this selectivity.

In a typical entering class, all CRC-colleges combined, about seven girls in 10 come from homes in which the father completed college and more than four in

Table 2

Selected Family-Background Characteristics of Entering Students: Black Students versus All Entrants

Group*	Parental education (completed college) Mother %	Father %	Parental income below $8,000 %	Mother worked some outside home %	Father self-employed %	N
A-All students	51	72	12	49	35	(484)
A-Black students	51	37	44	85	18	(50)
B-All students	46	67	12	47	41	(455)
B-Black students	36	40	63	88	32	(25)
C-All students	41	59	13	43	43	(372)
C-Black students	23	24	65	95	0	(21)
J-All students	41	59	18	47	38	(263)
J-Black students	18	15	65	88	18	(46)
All CRC-Colleges	45	69	9	44	42	(2564)
Black students	36	29	55	87	19	(151)***
ETS (men & women)**	(17)	(27)	(32)	(56)	(24)	

*"All student" data are for Class entering in 1967 and "Black student" data are for entrants in 1965, 1966, and 1967, combined.

**Comparative data for a more general sample of college students as reported by Educational Testing Service (ETS)--CSQ, Part 1.

***Includes black students at Colleges C and D.

10 (45 percent) report mothers' education at or beyond completion of a bachelor's degree. As may also be seen in Table 2, only slightly more than one fourth of college freshmen in the general (ETS) sample came from homes in which the father completed college and only about one in six reported mothers' education at this level. Less than one-tenth of the CRC entering group report family income under $8,000 whereas about a third (32 percent) of the ETS comparative group did so. Proportionately fewer regular CRC entrants (44 percent as compared to 56 percent in the ETS sample) reported that their mothers had worked outside the home for pay at some time after the respondents' birth and proportionally more (42 vs. 24 percent) report father was self-employed.

With some variation in degree these conditions hold for regular entrants at each of the four colleges involved in this study. What about black students?

> A majority of black students reported parental income of less than $8,000 annually--55 percent of the entire study group did so.
>
> Almost nine in every 10 black students reported "working mothers"--i.e., that their mother had worked for pay outside the home at some point since the respondent was born. Relatively few (19 percent) reported that their father was self-employed.
>
> About three in 10 (29 percent), reported father's education at or beyond the bachelor's degree; more than a third (36 percent), however, reported mother's education at or beyond this level.[7]
>
> Black students themselves are extremely highly-selected representatives of their race in terms of family educational backgrounds. Only 7.2 percent of all nonwhite persons, 45-64 years of age in 1964, were estimated to have completed 1 year or more of college. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, June 1966, Table IVB-2)

It is apparent from the data in Table 2 that black students entering Colleges A and B are more highly selected than those entering Colleges G and J on the parental-education variables.

Secondary school background

As may be seen in Table 3, a majority (56 percent) of CRC-College entrants

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[7] More Negro women than men get the bachelor's degree, while the opposite is true for whites. And, it has been reported that the disproportion in this regard is increasing--between 1950 and 1960, the relative increase in college enrollment was larger for Negro women (6.3 percent) than for Negro men (1.8 percent). See Fichter (1967, Chapter V, "Talented Negro Women," pages 77-101).

Table 3

Secondary School Background: All Entering Students versus Black Students Only (in Percent)

Group*	Public school graduate	Over 400 in class	Less than 1/2 to college	Top 2% of class	Overall h.s. av. A or A-	Rec'd 3 or more scholarly awards
A-All students	72	31	21	40	63	53
A-Black students	88	42	50	68	70	80
B-All students	57	26	14	29	51	55
B-Black students	88	44	40	56	72	80
G-All students	70	32	16	17	39	38
G-Black students	86	62	62	5	15	33
J-All students	28	13	12	21	42	46
J-Black students	87	60	70	21	6	25
All CRC Colleges	56	25	15	21	39	40
All Black students	87	49	57	41	40	55
ETS (men & women)**	(77)	(37)	(38)	(10)	(16)	(26)

*"All student" data are for the Class entering in 1967, including black students. "Black student" data are for entrants in 1965, 1966, and 1967. N's are as for Table 2.

**Comparative data for a more general sample of college students as reported by ETS--CSQ, Part 1.

attended public schools though there is considerable variation among the colleges in this regard. At College J, for example, 28 percent graduated from public schools, at College B, 57 percent, and at Colleges G and A, about 70 percent did so. Students typically are drawn from high schools sending more than half of their graduates on to college--only 15 percent come from schools in which less than half typically go on to college. Only about 25 percent attended a school in which there were 400 or more students in the graduating class.

A substantial proportion of students received three or more scholarly awards in high school; four in 10 regular entrants at CRC colleges earned overall high-school grades of A or A-, and about one in five ranked in the top 2%

of their class, with considerable variability among colleges--for example, percent of entrants reporting rank in the top 2 percent ranges from 17 at College C to 40 at College A.

In regard to these secondary-school background variables, findings for black students may be characterized as follows:

> Most black students (87 percent) attended a public school; 49% graduated from a large school with more than 400 classmates and more than one half (57 percent) attended a school from which less than half the graduates typically go on to college.
>
> It is quite evident that black students entering Colleges A and B, respectively, are much more highly screened in terms of traditional indices of secondary school performance than their classmates, while at Colleges G and J, the opposite is true. Note, for example, that 80 percent of black students but only about half of all regular entrants at Colleges A and B reported three or more scholarly awards and that a similar pattern obtains for class rank and grades.

Educational and career orientations

As reported elsewhere (Wilson 1966a) students entering CRC colleges tend to identify with a "collegiate" philosophy of education, which emphasizes "cultivation of the well-rounded person..."[8] On balance, as may be seen in Table 4, CRC-students tend to be much less vocational, slightly more academic and nonconformist, and substantially more collegiate than their counterparts among women students generally. We also see in Table 4 that CRC students are less likely than college freshmen-women generally to prefer objective over essay exams in typical humanities or social science courses (generally speaking, they are more likely to favor unstructured over structured approaches to education). Like entering college-women generally about one sixth of CRC entrants definitely plan graduate or professional study. However, they are much less likely to express preferences for an academic or a professional life (28 percent of CRC entrants as compared to 45 percent of the ETS sample do so) and somewhat less likely (36 percent versus 42 percent) to

[8] In the College Student Questionnaires, Part 1, students are asked to indicate the extent to which each of four statements, labelled only as Philosophy A, B, C, and D, respectively, approximates their own philosophy of higher education. The description of Philosophy A emphasizes "...education essentially as preparation for an occupational future;" Philosophy B emphasizes "...scholarly pursuit of knowledge...;" Philosophy C emphasizes the need for a wide range of activities in and outside the classroom in order to develop the "well-rounded person.;" Philosophy D emphasizes individualistic interests and styles and rejection of commonly held value orientations.

Table 4

Educational Orientations and Expectations;
Career Preferences
(in Percent)

Group*	Educational philosophy				Prefer objective over essay exams	Definitely plan grad. study	Career pref.	
	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate	Nonconformist			Acad. or prof. life	Marriage, career, children
A-All students	6	28	57	9	22	19	33	42
A-Black students	12	35	53	0	31	41	64	63
B-All students	10	24	51	12	24	24	32	46
B-Black students	21	42	29	8	35	48	56	68
G-All students	7	18	68	6	32	11	31	38
G-Black students	11	32	47	11	57	29	67	62
J-All students	8	22	64	3	32	21	28	31
J-Black students	35	33	24	4	51	38	68	70
All CRC students	8	22	62	7	27	16	28	36
All Black students	21	35	39	4	41	40	63	65
ETS (Women only)**	(25)	(21)	(44)	(4)	(52)	(17)	(45)	(42)

*"All student" data are for Class entering in 1967, including black students. "Black student" data are for those entering in 1965, 1966, and 1967, combined. N's are as shown in Table 2.

**Comparative data for a more general sample of college students as reported by ETS for CSQ, Part 1.

have a 15-year career goal of combining marriage, family, and job (as opposed to a strictly family-centered career).

Our black students, in their expressed educational orientations and career preferences, clearly do not conform to this typical pattern.

> More than one half of all black students in the sample identify with either the vocational or the academic philosophy of education--less than four in 10 are collegiate and only 4 in 100 are nonconformist in their orientation to college.
>
> Reflecting, in part, the greater instrumental value they attach to education, black students much more frequently than their white classmates (or college women generally) say that they "definitely" plan to continue their education

in graduate or professional school.[9]

> Almost two-thirds of the black students aspire to careers combining marriage, work, and children and they are much more inclined than their CRC-classmates (or college women generally) to express preference for an academic or a professional life.

Attitudes, dispositions and values

The College Student Questionnaires, Part 1 yields several "scale scores," each based on combinations of student responses to 10 survey-items. Among the areas represented by scales are the following:[10]

> Family independence--students with high scores tend to perceive themselves as coming from families that are not closely united, as not consulting parents about important personal matters. . .Low scores suggest 'psychological' dependence on parents and family.
>
> Peer independence--students with high scores tend not to be concerned about how their behavior appears to other students, not to consult acquaintances, and the like. . .Low scores suggest conformity to prevailing peer norms, etc.
>
> Liberalism--students with high scores (liberals) support welfare statism, organized labor, abolition of capital punishment, etc. . .Low scores (conservatism) indicate opposition to welfare legislation, to tampering with free enterprise system, etc.
>
> Social conscience--high scores express concern about poverty, illegitimacy, juvenile crime, materialism, etc. Lower scores reflect lack of concern, detachment or apathy about these matters.
>
> Cultural sophistication--students with high scores report interest in or pleasure from, for example, wide reading,

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[9]Based on a survey by the Bureau of Social Science Research, of the work and study patterns of college graduates in the Class of 1958, nationally, the patterns of Negro graduates with regard to further study were analyzed as follows: "...the small group of Negro students who attended integrated colleges or universities enrolled for graduate degrees more frequently than the white students in the survey, although this did not hold true for every field of study...(T)he differential is especially great for the small group of Negro women in integrated colleges who enrolled for graduate studies more frequently than white women did." (Sharp, 1963, pp. 40-41)

[10]For detailed description, see Peterson (1965, 1968)

> modern art, poetry, classical music. . .Low scores reflect general lack of interest or involvement in activities of this type.

Freshmen entering CRC-colleges are somewhat above the average for college freshmen generally (ETS normative sample) in Family Independence, Peer Independence, Liberalism, and Social Conscience. They are rather substantially higher than freshmen generally in Cultural Sophistication.

> Black students, as may be seen in Figure 1, not unexpectedly, are substantially more "liberal," with a higher degree of "social conscience" and a lower degree of "cultural sophistication" than CRC students generally.
>
> Within each of the four study-colleges, black students tend to differ from their classmates in like manner on these scales.
>
> Differences among colleges in respect to the characteristic scale-score patterns, all entering students, are roughly paralleled by among-college differences in the black-student profiles. For example, students at College B are highest in Liberalism and Peer Independence and, of the four study-colleges, College J is lowest in these areas. Black students at these colleges differ in about the same way. College J freshmen are lowest in Family Independence; similarly their black freshmen are lowest in this area.

Academic Aptitude Measures

As noted at the outset, very few students entering CRC colleges present SAT-V scores below 500 and only a handful present scores under 400. The degree of selectivity reflected in these figures may be inferred from data (CEEB, 1966) in Table 5 which show that fully 58 percent of all high school senior girls who later enter college earn SAT-V scores below 500; 27 percent score below 400. For some colleges, of course, degree of selectivity is considerably greater than that reflected by this general comparison; at College A and B, for example, more than 80 percent of regular entrants are drawn from the top 17 percent of the college-going group in regard to verbal ability.[11]

The distribution of SAT-Verbal scores for black students in the study sample clearly is lower than that for their white classmates in each college.

About three-fourths of black students presented SAT-V

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[11] See Appendix A for mean scores of students on the full admissions battery: SAT-V, SAT-M, average of CEEB Achievements, and Converted School Rank.

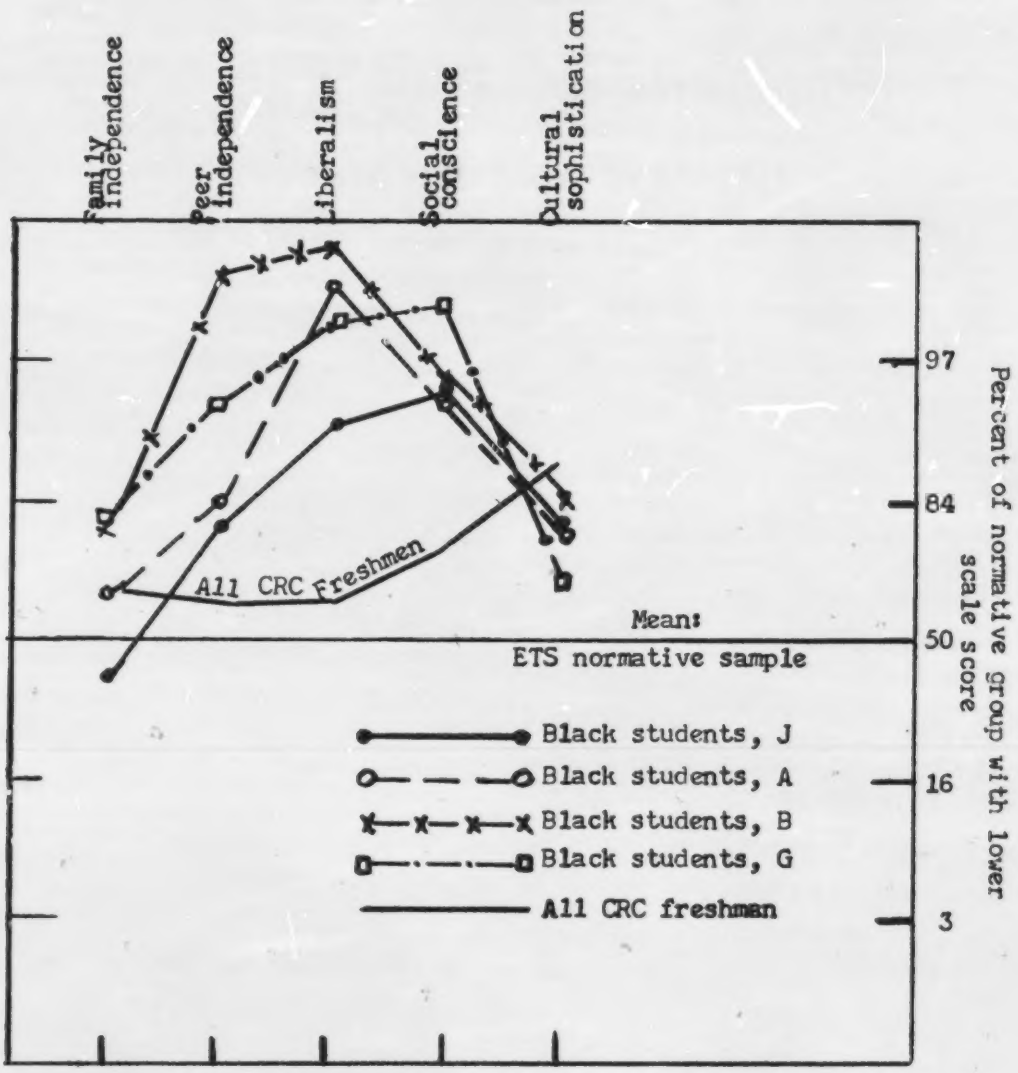

Figure 1. Scale Means for Black Students at Four CRC-Colleges and for All Entering Students, All CRC-Colleges: College Student Questionnaires, Part 1, Form 200D

Table 5

Distribution of SAT-Verbal Scores: All Entering Students versus Black Students Only

	Percent of students with SAT-V scores below designated score			
	400	500	600	700
A-All entering students		(a)	19	77
A-Black students only	2	14	64	94
B-All entering students	(a)	1	16	80
B-Black students only	(a)	4	52	92
G-All entering students	(a)	3	44	92
G-Black students only	(a)	11	78	100
J-All entering students	3	10	36	82
J-Black students only	24	74	96	100
Twelve selective colleges	(a)	4	36	85
All Black students (study group)	8	34	74	97
H. S. Seniors who later entered college (girls)*	27	58	83	98
All H. S. Seniors (girls)**	64	84	94	99
All black high school seniors***	85	98		

(a) Less than 0.5%

* Taken from Table 10, p. 19, CEEB, College Board Score Reports, 1966-67 (N.Y.: College Entrance Examination Board, 1966)

** Taken from Table 3, p. 18, Ibid.

*** As estimated by Kendrick (1968).

scores below 600 as compared to only 36 percent of all entrants.

However, only at College J, with its special orientation to "inner city" students, is there a substantial representation (e.g., 74 percent) of black students in the score range below 500. At Colleges A, B, and G, respectively, 86, 96, and 89 percent of black students presented SAT-V scores of 500 or higher.

Using Kendrick's estimate that perhaps 2 percent of

Negro high-school seniors have SAT-V scores of 500 or higher, we may infer from data in Table 3 that almost two thirds (64%) of black students entering CRC colleges, including the "high risk" students entering College J, are drawn from the top 2 percent of black high school seniors in terms of abilities measured by the SAT.

Moreover, they are as a group somewhat more highly selected in terms of verbal ability than college-bound high school seniors--24 percent of the latter, according to CEEB normative data, are estimated to have SAT-V scores below 400 while only 8 percent of the black students in our sample presented such scores.

Forecasting Freshman-Year Performance

Measures of academic aptitude (SAT), achievement (CEEB achievement tests), and secondary school performance (Rank conversion), are regularly presented by essentially all applicants for admission to CRC colleges. Results of numerous studies by CRC (see, for example, Wilson 1967b) of the value of such measures for predicting freshman-year grades have indicated that secondary school rank and the average score on CEEB achievement tests tend to be more highly correlated with first-year grades than scores on the SAT. However, a properly weighted combination of Class Rank, Achievement Test average, SAT-V and SAT-M provides a better basis for prediction than any one factor alone. Given the most effective weighting of the elements in the basic admissions battery, forecasts of freshman performance have a moderate degree of validity--e.g., based on studies in the Classes entering in 1962 and/or 1963 at CRC colleges, the typical value of the multiple correlation coefficient (Freshman Average versus the basic battery) was .52 for public and .47 for other students. (See Wilson, 1966b)

How adequate are these traditional admissions criteria for forecasting the performance of black students? There is reason to hypothesize (Kendrick, 1968; Stanley & Porter, 1967) that standardized measures of academic aptitude and achievement are likely to be at least as predictive of college grades for black students in integrated colleges as they are for their white classmates, given the characteristic, verbal emphases of college work. In order to evaluate the hypothesis an analysis was undertaken to determine the relationship between predicted and obtained freshman-year grades for black students in the present study.

Predicted versus obtained freshman grades

Predicted Freshman Average Grade-indices based on the standard admissions

battery described above are generated as part of the process of appraising the academic-performance potential of applicants. School Rank and Achievement Average typically account for about three-fourths, and the SAT scores (Verbal and Mathematical, respectively) about one-fourth, of the variability among applicants when the four scores of the admissions battery are combined to yield a Predicted Freshman Average such as that which was available for essentially all students, including black students, entering these four colleges in 1965, 1966, and 1967.

Due to the small number of cases available, it was not feasible to study relationships between predicted and obtained freshman grades by college and by year of entry. Even after combining data for three years (two years in the case of College J), the total number of black students with a predicted grade and an obtained grade was still small. Nonetheless, results of the correlational analysis (see Table 6) indicate that forecasts of freshman-year academic performance were at least as accurate for the black students as for their white classmates in the sense of degree of correlation between operational predictions[12] of performance and actual performance.

A tendency for black students to perform at a level slightly below expectancy is suggested by informal evaluation of the patterning of discrepancies between mean Predicted Average and mean Obtained Average for "all students" and for "black students" in Table 6. Inferences in this regard are (and should be) drawn quite tentatively from the findings under consideration here. However, the inference of "under-achievement" (or "over-prediction") for black students is supported by other evidence available.[13]

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[12] It should be kept in mind that all the predicted grade averages were derived from a combination of scores on the four basic admissions variables using weights derived from analyses in earlier entering groups. Thus we are dealing with the relationship between an independently derived estimate of first-year performance and actual first-year performance. The estimates, moreover, were those actually available for consideration during the admissions process.

[13] Additional support for this conclusion is provided by incidental findings accruing from a study, currently in progress, of under- and over-achievement during the freshman year among students entering CRC Colleges in fall 1966. Over-achievers were defined as students whose obtained freshman grade was .618 standard errors of estimate higher than predicted, with the reverse true for under-achievers. In a combined sample of students from five of eight CRC colleges, of 420 students identified as Under-achievers, 5.0 percent were black; of 417 students identified as Over-achievers, 1.7 percent were black--a statistically significant difference at $p < .01$. It is important to note, however, that at the college where black students were most like all students in respect to scores on the basic admissions battery, namely, College B, they were not disproportionately represented among either over- or under-achievers.

Table 6

Freshman-Year Grade Averages Relative to Predicted Averages, by College: Black students versus all Entrants

Group	(N)	Predicted fresh. av.* Mean	Predicted fresh. av.* S.D.	Obtained fresh. av. Mean	Obtained fresh. av. S.D.	Correlation between pred. & obtained av.
A-Black students entering in 1965, 1966 & 1967	(49)	6.75	0.67	6.51	1.24	.438
A-All students, 1966-7**	(452)	7.54	0.68	7.75	1.34	.527
B-Black students entering in 1965, 1966 & 1967	(24)	2.49	0.19	2.46	0.37	.739
B-All students, 1966-7	(386)	2.60	0.20	2.67	0.44	.334
G-Black students entering in 1965, 1966 & 1967	(15)	2.17	0.33	2.11	0.32	.588
G-All students, 1966-7	(339)	2.46	0.20	2.49	0.44	.274
J-Black students entering in 1966 & 1967 only	(25)	2.33	0.31	2.35	0.48	.649
J-All students, 1966-7	(237)	2.52	0.32	2.74	0.44	.541

*Predicted freshman grades were obtained from a linear combination of the Converted Secondary School Rank, SAT-V, SAT-M, and the average of CEEB achievement tests presented, using formulae developed for use with all applicants. For all students entering in 1966 and 1967, the predictions were routinely generated and considered in admission. For students entering in 1965, predictions were generated as part of a general CRC program designed to provide student-personnel data on all freshmen to aid in advisement of students.

**Note that findings for all entering students are for one Class only, namely, the Class entering in 1966, whereas for black students, data from three (or two) entering groups are combined. For College A, data available for 23 black students entering in 1966 were analysed separately with the following results:

Black students only--Mean PFAG = 6.45, S.D. = 0.65
Mean FAG = 6.32, S.D. = 1.34
r = .544

Some Concluding Observations

This study has focussed primarily on (a) the characteristics of black students entering several CRC Colleges during a recent three-year period and (b) questions regarding the value of standard admissions measures (academic aptitude, achievement, secondary-school standing) for assessing the probable academic-performance level of black students.

Black students at CRC Colleges differ, in expected ways, from their white classmates in respect to selected socio-economic background indicators. They are highly selected representatives of their racial group in respect to formal educational level of parents, and they are as highly selected in this respect as college freshmen generally.

In composite, black students are more likely than their classmates to be graduates of a relatively large, public high school from which less than half the graduates normally go on to college. More than half of these students received three or more scholarly awards during their high-school careers.

In their expressed educational orientations and preferences and in their career outlooks, black students are quite different from their classmates. They tend to see the purpose of college as being preparation for a career (as opposed to development of "well rounded individuals") and a clear majority (65 percent) of them look forward to combining marriage, family, and work outside the home. Much more frequently than their classmates, they express preferences, in the long-run, for an academic or professional life.

They have high levels of aspiration for advanced study and are more than twice as likely as their classmates to express definite intention to continue in graduate or professional school.

Somewhat lower than their classmates in respect to "cultural sophistication," they tend to be considerably more "liberal" in their attitudes on social and economic issues and to evidence more concern for social ills (poverty, treatment of elderly, etc.) as reflected in an index of "social conscience."

They are highly selected in regard to standing in their secondary-school classes. Black students have outstanding school records with lower than customary test qualifications.

In regard to standardized indices of academic-performance

potential, black students are below the level of all entering students. However, although their SAT and CEEB Achievement scores are typically more than one standard deviation below average for all entering students at their respective colleges, black students are very highly selected representatives of their racial group in terms of academic ability and they are above average in this regard relative to general college-bound norms for the SAT--in SAT-V scores, for example, two-thirds of the black students entering CRC colleges during 1965-67, were drawn from the top 2 percent of black high-school seniors and the top 16 percent of high school seniors generally.

An analysis of the relationship between Predicted Freshman Grade (combining the admissions variables--SAT-V, SAT-M, Achievement Test average, and School Rank) and obtained Freshmen Grade Average, indicates that traditional admissions criteria tend to be at least as correlationally valid for black students as for entering students generally.

There is moreover some evidence that predictions made on the basis of standard formulae may tend to overestimate the first-year performance of black students in the several colleges studied.

Despite recognized limitations in the study, the results lend support to the proposition that given the traditional academic demands and emphases of selective colleges, scores on traditional entrance examinations are likely to be as valid for Negro students as they are for their white classmates. However, it is most important to remember that this analysis was limited to the freshman year only.

Much additional effort is required in order to describe and evaluate what is being done with and for black students in CRC colleges. Academic performance beyond the freshman level must be examined and analysis must be extended to criteria of adjustment to the college which go beyond grade-averages if insight is to be gained into the factors which influence patterns of progress during the college years. How much "special attention," if any, is being accorded black students, in what forms, and with what effects in terms of academic attainment and attitudes?[14] What major problems have been encountered by the colleges in

[14] In his survey of programs for "high risk students," Egerton (1968, p. 14) concluded that "The biggest questions facing institutions helping high risk students seems to be whether they should be accorded special attention or treated in the same manner as all other students. Some say high risk students have enough problems to overcome without the stigma of identification as a risk. . . The opposite argument holds that students who are genuine risks must be given

their efforts to extend opportunity? These and other questions should be examined as part of a continuing effort to evaluate the progress of black students and provide information of value to the college as policy decisions are being considered.

In the last analysis, each college must determine for itself what its policies will be, "...how 'different' it can permit some of its students to be, how many such students it can take and how much it can do to assure their success..." (Egerton, 1968, p. 15) Colleges actively seeking answers to these questions will fully appreciate the significance of Kendrick's assertion that, for selective colleges, policy decisions regarding extension of opportunity to the disadvantaged are concerned less with what such colleges are to <u>do</u> than with what they are to <u>be</u>. (Kendrick, 1968, p. 15)

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support that is bound to be visible--lighter class loads (etc.)...The risk students themselves understandably have mixed emotions about the question, expressing at times both resentment and appreciation for either approach."

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Appendix A

Performance of Students on Standard Admissions Variables

Mean values of the four standard admissions variables for black students (three classes combined) and for all public school graduates in the Class entering in 1966, including black students, are shown in Table A.

Table A

Mean Values of Standard Admissions Variables for Black Students and for All Public School Graduates, Class Entering in 1966

Group*	Mean values of designated variables: Converted rank	SAT-V	SAT-M	Achieve. average	(N)
College A--Public students	70.2	64.6[a]	63.4[a]	64.5[a]	(352)
College A--Black students	70.9	56.5	54.0	56.3	(49)
College B--Public students	69.0	64.8[c]	62.1[c]	64.4[a]	(266)
College B--Black students	70.6	61.2	56.9	58.9	(24)
College G--Public students	65.9	60.5[b]	59.7[a]	61.3[a]	(265)
College G--Black students	62.5	55.3	47.2	52.9	(15)
College J--Public students	65.2	56.6[a]	54.1[a]	55.2[a]	(62)
College J--Black students	66.4	45.4	43.4	46.1	(43)

*"Public students" are all students, including black students, who graduated from a public secondary school and presented scores prior to admission, Class entering in 1966 only.

[a]Black students mean between 1 and 2 standard deviations below public student's mean.

[b]Black students approximately 1 standard deviation below public students.

[c]Black students less than 1 standard deviation below public students.